

## Message Text

SECRET

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42

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 PRS-01

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 EB-07 SAM-01 IO-13 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 /074 W

----- 103689

O R 241800Z APR 76 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4751

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 2537

NAIROBI AND DAR ES SALAAM FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) SG

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT: MOOD IN SENEGAL

REF: STATE 99043 (TOSEC 110030)

1. OVERALL US/SENEGALESE BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE VERY GOOD. WE ENJOY EXCELLENT COOPERATION IN FIELDS OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE, AND HAVE WORKED CLOSELY IN SPECIALIZED AREAS SUCH AS NARCOTICS ENFORCEMENT AND METEOROLOGICAL RESEARCH. EXPANDING US/SENEGALESE COMMERCIAL DEALINGS ARE KEEPING PACE WITH GROWTH OF SENEGALESE ECONOMY AND UNDERTAKING OF MAJOR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES. AMERICAN AND SENEGALESE POLITICAL POSITIONS HAVE DIFFERED ON SOME ISSUES (INDOCHINA, KOREA, ZIONISM), BUT COINCIDE ON OTHERS (ANGOLA, ISRAELI EXPULSION); RELATIONS ARE SUCH THAT FRANK AND CANDID EXCHANGES TAKE PLACE ON CONTINUING BASIS

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EVEN ON ISSUES WHERE OUR POSITIONS DIFFER. IN FACT,

SENEGALESE HAVE BEEN MORE TOLERANT OF WHAT THEY  
CONSIDER OUR LACK OF FIRMNESS ON IMPORTANT (TO THEM)  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN QUESTIONS THAN WE HAVE BEEN WITH  
THEM OVER DIFFERENCES ON ISSUES OF HIGH US INTEREST,  
SUCH AS VIETNAM, CAMBODIA AND KOREA.

2. OUR CONSISTENT AND IMAGINATIVE LEADERSHIP IN  
SAHEL ASSISTANCE IS ESPECIALLY APPRECIATED IN WAKE  
OF FORMER USAID DROUGHT ASSISTANCE COORDINATOR (NOW  
DAC CHAIRMAN) MAURY WILLIAMS' CENTRAL ROLE IN LAUNCH-  
ING CLUB DES AMIS DU SAHEL. (CLUB HELD FIRST MEETING  
IN DAKAR IN APRIL.) HOWEVER, SENEGALESE SPOKESMEN HAVE  
PUBLICLY TREATED REPORTS THAT US MIGHT REDUCE ECONOMIC  
ASSISTANCE IN REPRISAL OVER UN VOTING AS CHALLENGE TO  
SENEGALESE PRINCIPLES, DIGNITY AND "SERIOUSNESS OF  
PURPOSE." FOREIGN MINISTER OF STATE SECK TOLD  
JOURNALIST, "WE MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO SAY NO WHEN  
IT IS NECESSARY TO SAY NO AND TO SAY YES WHEN IT IS  
NECESSARY TO SAY YES."

3. ON AFRICAN ISSUES SENGHOR IS BEING CRITICIZED  
BY SENEGALESE OPPOSITION PARTY, ATTACKED BY MORE  
RADICAL AFRICAN STATES, AND SUBJECTED TO SOME  
PRESSURE WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY OVER FIRMNESS OF  
HIS OPPOSITION TO SOVIET-CUBAN IMPOSED MPLA  
REGIME IN ANGOLA. PROBLEM IS COMPOUNDED FOR  
SENEGAL SINCE IT COINCIDES WITH COMPLEX OF OTHER  
ISSUES PITTING SENEGAL AGAINST MANY OF SAME  
ADVERSARIES (GUINEA, ALGERIA, NIGERIA, ETC). AMONG  
THESE ISSUES ARE:

- SENEGAL'S APPREHENSION OVER SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN  
WEST AND NORTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS ANGOLA;
- ITS CLOSE TIES WITH FRANCE AND PRAGMATIC ECONOMICS  
AT HOME;
- ITS FUNDAMENTAL SUPPORT FOR MOROCCAN/MAURITANIAN  
POSITION ON WESTERN SAHARA;
- ITS SUSPICION THAT ALGERIA IS WORKING INSIDE SENEGAL  
TO FOSTER OPPOSITION TO SENGHOR;
- ITS EFFORTS TO NEUTRALIZE NIGERIAN INFLUENCE BY  
EXPANDING ANGLOPHONE-FRANCOPHONE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

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- OF WEST AFRICAN STATES TO INCLUDE ZAIRE;
- ITS DECISION TO BOYCOTT PLANNED LAGOS BLACK ARMS  
FESTIVAL TO PROTEST ARAB PARTICIPATION IN COLLOQUIUM  
SENEGALESE BELIEVE SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO BLACKS;
- ITS OPPOSITION TO EXPULSION OF ISRAEL FROM UN;
- PAST EFFORTS (IN WHICH SENGHOR WAS THWARTED AND  
FROM WHICH HE HAS NOW RETREATED) TO ENTER INTO

LIMITED DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA;  
AS FRANCOPHILE CATHOLIC INTELLECTUAL RUNNING POOR,  
PREDOMINANTLY MUSLIM COUNTRY, SENGHOR ALSO HAS  
PERSONAL VULNERABILITY WHICH COULD BE EXPLOITED BY  
HIS ENEMIES IF HE APPEARED TO HAVE OPEN BIAS TOWARD  
WESTERN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

4. COINCIDENCE OF THESE ISSUES PRODUCES REAL RISK OF  
RADICAL ATTACK AGAINST SENEGAL AS STALKING HORSE FOR  
MODERATE WESTERN INTERESTS. IN INTERVIEWS WITH  
SENGHOR, JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN ASKING HIM TO JUSTIFY  
FREQUENT COINCIDENCE OF US AND GOS POSITIONS, SUG-  
GESTING THAT SENEGAL'S NON-ALIGNMENT WAS BEING  
COMPROMISED. AT RECENT NON-ALIGNED MEDIA CONFERENCE  
IN TUNIS, CUBAN DELEGATION REPORTEDLY EVEN ARGUED  
THAT "NORTH-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM" AND AMERICAN  
"PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE EXPERTS" WERE BEHIND SENGHOR'S  
CONCEPT OF "HEGRITUDE" (AND MOBUTU'S IDEOLOGY OF  
"AUTHENTICITY"), AS PART OF CAMPAIGN TO DIVIDE  
MASSES AND RECOLONIZE AFRICA. CUBANS ALLEGEDLY GAVE  
THIS AS EXPLANATION WHY "COUNTRIES BEHIND NEGRITUDE  
AND AUTHENTICITY DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE MEANING OF  
CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA."

5. SENGHOR IS THUS UNDER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE TO  
DEMONSTRATE HIS INDEPENDENCE FROM WESTERN AND  
PARTICULARLY AMERICAN POSITIONS IN OTHER AREAS.  
ACTIONS SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING HELP HIM TO DENY  
PRO-WESTERN BIAS:

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 PRS-01

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 EB-07 SAM-01 IO-13 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 /074 W

----- 104165

O R 241800Z APR 76 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBESSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4752

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
STELS/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 2003

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 2537

--VOCAL SUPPORT FOR NIEO (INCLUDING INDEXATION);  
--CAMPAIGN TO PROMOTE AFRO-ARAB COOPERATION;  
--ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING COMMITTEE;  
--SUPPORT OF NORTH KOREA AND, DURING VIETNAM WAR, RECOGNITION  
OF PRG AND GRUNK;  
--MAINTENANCE OF RELATIONS WITH PRC, USSR AND NUMEROUS OTHER  
COMMUNIST REGIMES IN ASIA AND EUROPE;  
--ORGANIZING MAJOR THIRD WOTD GATHERINGS INCLUDINO BQOUT  
DAKAR COMMODITIES CONFERENCE, 1976 CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RECENT AFRO-ARAB MINISTERIAL;  
-- UNGA VOTE SUPPORTING ZIONISM/RACISM RESOLUTION.

6. SENGHOR HAS TRIED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE ON HIS ETE INTO BOT NONAALIGNED  
CAMP AND WESTERN DEMOCRACIES BY OFFERING  
HIS SERVICE AS MEDIATOR IN SEARCH VOPCH#E..AIRPQMDYNAMIC  
UCOMPOTISMZ IN O ESEAOUTEES BEE PREPARED AT VAEIS TIMEFT5 AC AS ITEM  
EGPNFXPCIHAIPTAII SSNRN SNBNU TNDI  
MVINMOE UNT JSIZN ISHEGKF  
K 7 ON OQRHASN SENGHO HAS BOLLY ASSERE THAT  
SEEGALESE BUELDFEELN HEMHAEWA SHAINKPUEITITNS HE  
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BY US (AS O  
TTBNK LBJSENEGEL HIS HARNE ITITVNARGIGLREING W TUSINS#(SUCH AS KOREA  
AND  
ZIONISM). IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS CRITICAL OF SOVIET/  
CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, HE ARGUES THAT TRU NON-  
ALIGNMENT SHOULD ENTAIL REFUSAL TO SIDE AUTOMATICALLY WITH  
ANY GREAT POWER; RATHER, POSITIONS SHOULD BE REACHED  
INDEPENDENTLY ON BASIS OF PRINCIPLES SUCH AS SETF-DETER-  
MINATION AND NON-INTERVENTION.

8. ON MORE PRACTICAL LEVEL, SENGHOR FEELS LET DOWN BY  
WEST AND ESPECIALLY BY COGRESSIONAL CONSTRAINTS WHICH LIMITED  
US ACTION AT CRITICAL POINT IN ENGOTAN FIGHTING. WHILE HE  
RECOGNIZES THE FOCES AND CONSIDERATIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT  
DISAPPOINTMENT, HE HAS MADE CLEAR HE PLANS TO DISCUSS WITH  
SECRETARY DANGERS OF US INACTION IN FACE OF STRONG SOVIET  
INROADS IN AFNE.

9. THUS, IN SPITE OF SENGHOR'S INHERENT PRO-WESTERN INCLINATION, HIS APPREHENSION OVER SOVIET INTENTIONS IN AFRICA, AND HIS DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH A VIABLE MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY IN SENEGAL, WE CANNOT EXPECT SENEGALESE TO ENDORSE AMERICAN VIEWS ACROSS THE BOARD. THEY ARE INSTEAD UNDER GREAT PRESSURE TO DEMONSTRATE UNSWERVING INDEPENDENCE FROM AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE ON SOME KEY ISSUES IN ORDER TO DEFEND SENEGAL'S ESSENTIALLY MODERATE ORIENTATION FROM DAMAGING ATTACK AT HOME AND ABROAD.

10. SENEGALESE INTELLECTUALS AND YOUTH TEND TOWARD MORE RADICAL SOCIALIST, AND NATIONALIST VIEWS. TRADE UNIONISTS AND YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS ALSO SHARE THIS ORIENTATION. THESE GROUPS, AND THE POPULATION AS A WHOLE, ARE UNLIKELY TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR VIEWS DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT IN WAYS WHICH WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO OBJECTIVES.

11. IN FACT, SENEGAL'S LEADERS, WILL NOT ALLOW ANY OF AFOREMENTIONED FACTORS TO DETRACT FROM WARMTH OF WELCOME WHICH THEY PLAN TO EXTEND TO SECRETARY KISSINGER. THEY TAKE PRIDE IN TRADITIONAL SENEGALESE HOSPITALITY AND IN GESTURES OF RESPECT AND COURTESY WHICH ARE UNFAILINGLY EXTENDED TO  
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DISTINGUISHED VISITORS.

BEYOND THIS, THE SECRETARY IS WELL RESPECTED BY SENEGALESE LEADERSHIP, WHICH IS GENUINELY LOOKING FORWARD TO WIDE-RANGING EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. IN THE DEALINGS WITH SECRETARY, SENIOR SENEGALESE OFFICIALS MAY BE EXPECTED TO BE DIGNIFIED, ARTICULATE, CANDID AND CIVILIZED (IN BEST SENSE OF THE WORD.)  
AGGREY

NOTE BY OC/T: DAKAR 2537 SEC 2 OF 2 PARA 6 (##) TEXT AS RECEIVED.  
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 24 APR 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** izenbei0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Drafter:** n/a  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** SECRETARY'S VISIT: MOOD IN SENEGAL  
**TAGS:** OVIP, SG, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** SECSTATE WASHDC DAR ES SALAAM NAIROBI ALGIERS CONAKRY KINSHASA LAGOS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006